

VORSTER BILL: END OF ALL FREEDOM DESPITE PROTESTS

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— see pages 2, 4, 8

SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY

FEDERATION IS CRUMBLING



Mr. Joshua NKOMO (left) and Mr. Kenneth KAUNDA on their way to the platform to address 15,000 people at the rally in Lusaka, 20th May.

THE CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION IS DYING on its feet. Nyasaland has seceded in all but legal formality. Northern Rhodesia, inspired by the United National Independence Party, the African National Congress and the Liberal Party, is determined to end it, and only the United Federal Party, led by Sir Roy Welensky, wants to keep it going. And the U.F.P. has lost its control of Nyasaland and is likely to lose influence finally in Northern Rhodesia when the forthcoming elections are held later this year.

The British Minister for Central African Affairs, Mr. R. A. Butler, has visited the Federation. In Northern Rhodesia, his visit coincided with a mass rally in Lusaka, addressed by the leaders of both the United National Independence Party, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, and of the Southern Rhodesian Zimbabwe African People's Union, Mr. Joshua Nkomo. Speaking to a crowd of about 15,000, Mr. Kaunda declared that his party was determined to break the Federation, British government or no British government. "I will lay down before Mr. Butler," he said, "U.N.I.P. policy. If he does not listen, what happens will not be our fault."

Mr. Nkomo declared: "We want federation by the people, for the people, not imposed on the people like this Welensky federation." He pledged his support to Mr. Kaunda and to Dr. Banda in breaking the Federation.

In his talks with leaders in Northern Rhodesia, Mr. Butler found that the major part of African opinion was against Federation. The British minister said he based this finding on the representations made to him by political leaders and by the Chiefs. The only major group to support Federation was Sir Roy Welensky's U.F.P.

After his visit to Nyasaland earlier in May, Mr. Butler said that the British government acknowledges that Dr. Banda, and the Malawi Congress Party, supported by a firm mandate from the people in last year's elections, are not prepared to remain in the present federation. But on examination of Nyasaland's financial position would have to be made before it left the Federation. Mr. Butler invited Dr. Banda to visit London later in the year for further talks.

He also announced, at the end of his Northern Rhodesia visit, that the Federal Review conference, at which the Federation's future would be decided, would not be held until after the territorial elections. This will give Northern Rhodesia a strong anti-federal voice at the conference, because under the territory's new constitution, it is likely that the United National Independence Party will emerge as the most powerful party in the new Legislative Council.

contact

COMMENT

As you may have heard I have moved to Basutoland from Cape Town because government restrictions on my freedom of expression and movement would have imprisoned and silenced me if I had remained. Here in Basutoland I am still in the fight against apartheid to the extent that my hosts, the Basuto people, will allow me.

I feel called on now to tell you how I feel about the new Vorster laws.

This is the great clash we have always at the back of our minds known would come. It is a clash between two tremendous ideas that are grappling for the possession of the body and soul of our country: the idea of equality and the idea of White supremacy. This clash has now begun. Secondly, this clash has been in our destiny for many years. It is no sudden personal quirk of Verwoerd's or Vorster's. Without Malan there could have been no Verwoerd and without a 1936 sell-out of the African voters there could have been no Malan. Without a colour-bar Act of Union in 1910 there could have been no 1936 sell-out. In the same way Union followed with the inevitability of predestination the 1902 failure of a victorious Britain to give the vote to the non-Whites in the defeated republics of the Transvaal and the Free State. And in this failure which I call Kitchener's Middelburg betrayal, logically followed the racist gerrymandering of the Cape and Natal constitutions in the eighties and nineties of the last century by largely English South African electorates.

Some time late last century, as Olive Schreiner knew so well, White South

The Course of History

Africa took a wrong turning. It could have followed Britain and the rest of the democratic world and broadened the base of governmental power by gradually enlarging the franchise to include in a statesmanlike way all adults and thus to win the love and loyalty of the whole nation. Unfortunately White South Africa decided, about eighty years ago, to concentrate all political power and most wealth in the hands of a racially selected oligarchy.

So let English South Africa not wring its hands and repine at the wickedness of the Nationalists, because Vorster's Nazi laws are the creation no less of English South African racism.

The failure of the Torch Commando exemplifies the failure of the more

decent side of White South Africa. The Torch failed because when they said democracy they deceived themselves. They meant democracy for White supremacy and this is a contradiction in terms.

In general White South Africa has failed because it tried "do unto all Whites as you would they should do unto you".

This failure is not only a failure on the moral plane. Before I am silenced I wish to prophesy that White South Africa is about to fail also on the material and political planes. Apartheid clearly plans a future which has no place in the sun for the non-White South Africans. Having failed to secure such a settlement by persuasion and propa-

ganda Verwoerd and Vorster are now picking up the gun in order to secure it by force.

But the opposing forces are too strong. Based on the oppressed peoples of South Africa and the vast majority of the whole human race, these forces have already been forged into a gigantic pincer ready to crush apartheid. Led by the Afro-Asian countries, this movement is supported already by the two super-powers, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., neither of which can afford to leave so powerful a movement to the leadership of the other.

White South Africa's moral and material failure thus means that the control of our own affairs will temporarily be taken from our own people and a settlement will be imposed from outside. The next page in South African history will be written by a foreign hand: "Mene mene tel el upharsin: thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting. Thy kingdom is divided and given to the Medes and Persians".

But such a failure will not be the end. Babies will continue to be born and bread will continue to be baked. How well these things will be done will depend on the wisdom and determination of our own generation to rebuild our country on foundations of truth and mercy.

NOTE.—If the General Laws Amendment ("Sabotage") Bill becomes law, Mr. Patrick Duncan, writer of this article, being banned, will not be allowed to publish in South Africa anything he writes.



Contact is independent. It works for non-racial democracy based on adult suffrage. It is against all forms of totalitarianism such as fascism, communism and apartheid.

Blueprint for the Future

6. Liberal Party says "Land for All"

THE LIBERAL PARTY believes that the changes that it will bring about in the social and economic spheres in South Africa can only be accomplished if they are accompanied by a radical redistribution of land.

At present, more than three-quarters of the land area of South Africa is owned by Whites, who constitute less than a quarter of the total population. The land of South Africa must be shared out among those who wish to own it.

At the same time, the Liberal Party will have to ensure that the implementation of its policy of redistribution is not accompanied by any large scale drop in agricultural production.

Another important aspect of the party's Land Policy will be to make farming more efficient, and to increase production as well as protecting the land against erosion and waste.

Repeal of Restrictive Laws

All laws which place racial restrictions on land ownership will be repealed. But this abolition of the colour bar in land ownership will not be enough to bring about redistribution because the majority of people in South Africa lack the means to buy land they need on the open market. The government will

therefore help redistribution. It will place taxes on land which will make it difficult for landowners to keep great areas of land in a few hands. The government will also enforce the sale of unused or under-developed land to the state. Those who want to buy land but have not the means will be assisted by the government to do so by means of loans and long term instalment plans.

Farm Workers' Wages

The wages of farm workers will be fixed by law so as to ensure that farm workers, at present among the most poorly paid in the country, will receive a just wage. Doing this will also force farmers to use labour more efficiently and possibly to reduce the size of their farms.

Soil Conservation,

Education,

Betterment Schemes

A Liberal government will make soil conservation a major task, and will provide agricultural education and technical services to all the farming community irrespective of race.

The Liberal Party recognizes that former governments have not been able to get the co-operation of Africans in the reserves in the betterment schemes which were in themselves good for the land. This has been because Africans have had no say in these governments and because they resented not being able

to buy land outside the reserves as a result of which the reserves became overcrowded. The Liberal Party will continue with the Betterment schemes, because it believes that under a democratic system, the people in the reserves will want them.

The Reserves

The reserves will be treated as parts of South Africa, and they will be developed as areas to produce food and a decent living for those who live there. The attempts of the present Nationalist government to increase their population will be abandoned and the natural process of migration to the cities will be encouraged. But within the reserves themselves industry will be established and the growth of towns will be encouraged.

Whether the present system of tribal land ownership will continue, or whether it will be replaced by individual ownership cannot be decided until the economic problems of the reserves have been solved, and the people of those areas have said what they want. A Liberal government will recognize the system of land tenure desired by the people concerned provided the soil and its productivity are protected.

Research will be conducted into various forms of co-operative farming and a Liberal government will encourage the formation of farmers' co-operatives which will make farming machinery, breeding animals, seed and fertilizer available to members.

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Israel Trains Africans for Freedom

TO counter Arab and Soviet accusations that Israeli arms are being supplied to the Portuguese government troops in Angola, the Israeli government has invited the Angolan rebel leader, Mr. Holden Roberto, for a state visit.

The invitation was formally extended by the Israeli ambassador in Leopoldville (Congo), where Angolan rebel headquarters is now located.

Support for National Liberation Movements

Mr. Roberto is expected to arrive in Jerusalem early in June for a two-week stay. He will have talks with the prime minister, Mr. Ben-Gurion and the foreign minister, Mrs. Golda Meir.

Israel's new policy of open support for national liberation movements in Africa is further evidenced by the presence of some African rebel leaders at Israel's army school for youth battalion leaders.

Anti-Portuguese, Anti-apartheid

The school, which runs special courses for Afro-Asian youth battalion officers, has recently accepted three anti-Portuguese insurrectionists—two from Angola and one from Portuguese Guinea—and two anti-apartheid activists from Basutoland.

Upon their arrival here in Israel, the two Basutoland leaders—whose names are being kept secret for fear of reprisals against their families—declared their intention to "raise the

banner of national liberation" in South Africa as well.

More prospective trainees from Angola, Portuguese Guinea and Moçambique are expected here as soon as they can be spared by their own guerrilla units and underground resistance cells.

They also have to evade Portuguese police dragnets and military roadblocks to cross their respective borders into the Congo, Senegal and Tanganyika, from whence they proceed to Israel.

Military - Agricultural Corps

One of the most popular films currently being shown in 19 African countries, from Madagascar to Dahomey is an 80-minute documentary on Israel's military-agricultural corps and youth battalions.

Filmed by the ministry of defence in Tel-Aviv, it is dubbed in English, French, Swahili and two other African languages.

The film is shown to full houses by the African governments concerned, in an effort to draft volunteers for brigades styled after Israel's Nahal (military-agricultural) and Gadna (youth battalion) units.

These African brigades are to be organized, trained and led by Israeli officers and instructors.

Champion of African Nationalism

Why is Israel risking the enmity of Portugal and South Africa (where there are many Jews) with such actions?

Veteran observers see an Israeli determination to undermine the African image of Nasser and Khrushchev as the major champions of African nationalism.

—*Evening Post*, 19th May.

Route March in Jerusalem



Young men and women from Africa in training with the youth battalions or the Military-Agricultural Brigade in Israel. The picture was taken in Jerusalem, where the trainees were on a route march. People from Britain and other European countries also took part.

Political Prisoner "Permanently Disabled"

By a Reporter

MR. ELLIOTT MFAXA, former national organizer of the now banned Pan Africanist Congress was released from prison on 16th May, exactly two years after he was convicted of incitement in Stutterheim, Eastern Province, in 1960. He was granted no remission.

Assaulted

While serving his sentence, he was at one stage put to work in a quarry near East London where he was isolated from the other prisoners. His hands became bruised and sore as a result of the heavy work, and on complaining to the warders, he was assaulted. He reported the matter to the head warder, who took the side of his subordinates.

Pushed Between Coco-pans

Mr. Mfafa was sent back to work in the quarry, this time with the coco-pans that carry loads of stone. The warders, who regarded him with hostility because of his political affiliations, pushed him between two moving coco-pans. He lost consciousness and was taken to the prison hospital.

He was seriously injured in his leg, and proper treatment was not given.

However, he was transferred from East London to a farm jail about 60 miles north of Cape Town.

Mr. Mfafa told *Contact* that while he was there he spent several weeks in the jail infirmary because of the pain in his leg. He said that he seems to be permanently disabled and that he suffers considerable pain.

Mr. Mfafa is considering court action.

Rugby

OPEN LETTER TO THE "LIONS"

DEAR LIONS,—We write on behalf of many who fervently wished that you would not make a tour of South Africa. They wished this not because they objected to you or the kind of rugby you play—no one who has seen or read or heard of the Lions would object on those grounds.

It is often said that sportsmen are unofficial ambassadors for their country; perhaps you are unaware that you are unofficial ambassadors for the South African government and envoys for apartheid.

Surely it is well-known that no non-White South African rugby player can be selected for a Springbok team, or even for the provincial teams of Natal, the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, or the Cape.

Many of us hoped that knowing these things, and knowing that they are a contravention of the very principles of sport, you would have refused to come to the republic.

It will be said by others, and perhaps by some of you, that we who protest are dragging politics into sport. But is this true? Is it not true rather of those who make colour not merit the basis of selection? And what would you say if in Britain all Welshmen, or manual labourers, or Jews were debarred from selection for provincial and national teams.

G. K. RANGASAMY.
ALAN PATON.
D. A. BRUTUS.

A WAR ENDS — AND REFUGEES GO HOME



ONE OF THE BIGGEST repatriation operations ever undertaken by the United Nations is now taking place on the Algeria-Morocco frontier. With the prospects of independence and the right to vote in the forthcoming referendum, thousands of Algerian exiles are now returning to their native land. Our picture shows a scene at Oujda, Morocco, where special trains are marshalled to carry the repatriates to a point on the boundary. There they were transferred to lorries and taken into Algeria, to a transit camp for assignment by the repatriation authorities. — A.F.P. photo.

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Johannesburg

CARPIO TOLD OF VORSTER BILL

THE Vorster Bill will, if it becomes law, be applied in South West Africa, the chairman of the United Nations Special Committee on South West Africa, Mr. Vittorio Carpio, has been told by the Liberal Party. A letter to him from Mr. E. Wentzel, chairman of the party's Transvaal division, reads as follows:

"For your information I enclose a copy of the 'Sabotage Bill' which is being debated in parliament at present.

"You will notice that this proposed legislation will empower the government inter alia to set up concentration camps and confine persons to their houses. There will be no appeal to the courts.

"The definition of sabotage is alarmingly wide. It includes possessing an unlicensed firearm, striking, obstructing traffic, trespass, damage, however trivial, to property. The onus is on the accused to prove his innocence.

"May we, sir, remind you that this legislation will be of force and effect in the mandated territory of South West Africa."

Nation-wide Protests Against Vorster Bill

By a Reporter

PUBLIC protest against the General Law Amendment Bill, which is being rushed through parliament by the minister of justice, Mr. Vorster, has been heard from all major centres in South Africa.

So strong had the protest become by the end of last week that the state banned weekend protest meetings in the Johannesburg and Cape Town areas, where rallies had been called by the Congress Alliance.

Wide Co-operation

Churches, universities, political and non-political movements, have added their voices to the protests of national leaders such as Mr. Albert Lutuli and Mr. Alan Paton. And protest meetings and demonstrations have been held in Johannesburg, Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Cape Town, Pretoria, Port Elizabeth and other centres. A feature of these protests has been the co-operation between a wide range of political and non-political groups, including the Liberal

Party, the Congress Alliance, the Progressive Party, the Black Sash, church organizations, the Institute of Race Relations, the National Council of Women, the National Union of South African Students, and others.

Another feature of the protests has been the Black Sash vigil held in Johannesburg, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and other centres. In Johannesburg, this vigil has been marked by violence and hooliganism on the part of White thugs. The police did little to stop the thuggery.

Thugs Prevent Meeting

Because of the uninterrupted week-long activities of the thugs, the Liberal Party was forced to cancel a protest meeting on the city hall steps (where the vigil had been taking place).

Announcing the calling off of the meeting, the Liberal Party's national president, Mr. Alan Paton, said:

"We are not prepared to take the risk of holding such a meeting where our supporters may be subject to assault and violence.

"The freedom of speech has lost a critical battle. It has lost a battle

to the freedom to insult, spit upon, address obscenely and assault citizens of the republic who are seeking to express and make known their views in a lawful and constitutional manner.

"Decent citizens may not freely assemble, but hooligans may freely assemble. The right to make lawful protest has had to give way to those who menaced that right by unlawful methods."

Procession

The cancellation of this meeting, however, is balanced by the mass procession through the streets of Johannesburg by opponents of the Bill: these included political leaders, student leaders, students and members of the public. Some 3,000 people marched through the streets.

In Durban, a protest march was forbidden by the city council (on police "advice"), but more than 200 students gathered in protest at the war memorial on 26th May. Earlier in the week 2,000 people attended a mass meeting to oppose the Bill.

In Pietermaritzburg, 1,500 people attended a protest meeting, while in Cape Town some 4,000 people have attended protest meetings at different places. 1,000 students were at a mass meeting opposing the Bill held at the university.

A rally is planned for Republic Day, 30th May, and is being organized by a co-ordinating committee of anti-apartheid groups called the Civil Rights Defence Committee. It comprises the Liberal Party, the Black Sash, National Council of Women, Women's Federation, Civil Rights League, Progressive (Continued on page 8, col. 4)

Basutoland

B.C.P. ATTENDS SECRET GHANA CONFERENCE

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: As the struggle continues unabated in Portuguese colonies and the dependent states the president of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, has called an emergency conference of dependent states whose decisions, according to the telegram sent to the president of the Basutoland Congress Party, will have far-reaching effects on the current attitude of the colonial powers.

This conference was scheduled for 8th June but it has been changed to 30th May as a result of pressing emergency matters in the struggle for African liberation.

The telegram reads as follows:

"Osagyefo, the president, is anxious to convene as a matter of urgency a conference of leaders of nationalist organizations and parties from Portuguese colonial territories and the dependent countries to discuss the most pressing problems at present confronting their various organizations and parties in the struggle for freedom and self-determination."

The conference is expected to take far-reaching decisions on the current attitude of colonial powers. It begins in Accra, Ghana, on 30th May.

Six delegates are expected from each country. The composition of the delegation is as follows: three men, one woman and two trade unionists.

The Basutoland Congress Party is sending the following delegates: Messrs. M. N. Molapo, deputy leader; G. M. Kolisang, secretary-general; S. R. Mokhehle, treasurer and trade union leader, and Mrs. L. M. Mputhi. Messrs. Ntsu Mokhehle (president of the B.C.P.)

and G. P. Ramoreboli who have been in New York giving evidence before a special United Nations committee on colonialism on behalf of Basutoland, are also in the delegation.

On the eve of his departure the deputy leader of the B.C.P., Mr. M. N. Molapo, at a press conference, said: "It is a conference of governing and non-governing territories we are attend-

ing, whose decisions will strongly pave the way for the end of colonialism in Africa. I expect the outcome of the decisions taken at this conference to have far-reaching results and to be of world-wide effect on colonial peoples. It is the people of the world who pay in frustration, anguish and death for the mistakes of the various governments in colonial countries."

Protectorate Leaders Meet in Accra

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: After attending the conference of leaders from dependent countries (see story on this page) the leaders of the three main political parties from Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland will hold a special conference in Accra.

The Basutoland Congress Party, the Bechuanaland People's Party and the Swaziland Progressive Party have formed themselves into one body called the Pan African Solidarity Conference for Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland (P.A.S.C.O.).

The special meeting will discuss and approve P.A.S.C.O.'s draft constitution. This constitution outlines the manner in which P.A.S.C.O. will function (through the establishment of a secretariat in Maseru) and states that membership shall be open to all "national parties, national trade unions or equivalent bodies or organizations in the sister territories who are members of the All

African People's Conference and who subscribe to its aims and objects".

The aims and objects of P.A.S.C.O. are stated: they include

- achieving independence for the people of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland
- inculcating the spirit of nationalism and patriotism in the youth
- working for the establishment of democratic forms of government
- working within the framework of the A.A.P.C. and furthering its aims and objects
- building solidarity between the people of the three countries.

The meeting in Accra will also try to break the deadlock between Dr. A. P. Zwane (the new president of the S.P.P.) and Mr. J. J. Nkuku (the deposed president) who spoke on behalf of the S.P.P. before the U.N. committee on colonialism.

The meeting is scheduled to last for three days.

'Whites We Swazi Work

From "Contact" Correspondent

MBABANE: The Swaziland General Workers' Union has hailed the recent disclosure of the views of British officials in the territory (see *Contact*, 3rd May), on the constitutional proposals as "moderate and statesmanlike reservations".

The views of the officials "brought back to us a hope that was almost extinguished by the actual proposals," said the Union, and had restored confidence in the government.

The Union slates recent utterances by White settlers who had misrepre-

BASUTOLAND WANTS ARMY

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: At the close of the last session three weeks ago, an unopposed motion was brought before the Basutoland Legislative Council by the deputy leader of the Basutoland Congress Party and the Chief Whip of the party, the front-bencher, Mr. M. N. Molapo, that Basutoland have its own army for defence in case of future aggression. The Basutoland Congress Party in this motion had the support of the governing coalition group in the council.

Speaking to the motion, Mr. Molapo pointed out that Basutoland needed an army, particularly in view of the coming changed relationship between the territory and the Republic of South Africa after 31st May.

Mocambique Leaders call for Freedom

From "Contact" Correspondent
DAR ES SALAAM: The Mocambique National Democratic Union (Udenamo) operating in exile in Dar es Salaam has laid down December, 1962, as the last deadline for the granting of "complete independence to Mocambique on the basis of one man one vote".

This demand was submitted to the seven-man United Nations Special Committee on Portuguese territories which arrived in Tanganyika on 12th May to gather information from Portuguese African refugees who have taken shelter here from Portuguese rule.

Guinea-born acting chairman Mr. Marof told the assembled delegates that the committee was under instructions from the General Assembly and could only carry out that mandate, which was to obtain and examine up-to-date authentic information from territories under Portuguese administration.

United Nations' Position

Clear

"The United Nations position on colonialism is clear," Mr. Marof declared. "In conformity with the principles of the Charter, it recognizes that the desire for independence is the rightful aspiration of peoples under colonial subjection."

"These principles are recognized in regard to the territories under Portuguese administration," Mr. Marof said.

The first petitioner to give evidence was Mr. H. C. Gwambe, president of UDENAMO, who claimed that his party represented six and a half million people in Mocambique. For three days Mr. Gwambe and his colleagues gave detailed accounts of the way in which the Portuguese have been ruling the Africans in Mocambique, and in a comprehensive memorandum submitted to the committee indicted the Salazar regime for crimes against the African people.

The memorandum demanded the immediate withdrawal of the Portuguese military and police forces from Mocambique and the granting of independence by December this year.

The rival Mocambique African National Union (M.A.N.U.) also submitted a memorandum on identical lines.



The seventeen petitioners of UDENAMO who gave evidence to the United Nations Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration on the 14th-15th May, 1962. From left to right: Standing: Daniel S. Mahlayeye, Gabriel João Ndeyo Machava, Antonio Camisola Chapo, Philip Ngwenya, Lopes Tembe, Absalom Bahule, Lourenço Matsolo and Silverio Nungu. Seated: Eli E. Ndimeni, João Mungwambe, Tangazi M. Marapende, Miguel Artur Murupa, Hlomulo Chitofu Gwambe (national president and head of delegation), Paul Gumane, Uria Simango, Filipe Samuel Magaia and Fernando Velema Mungaka.



From left to right are: Mr. F. Milinga, secretary-general of M.A.N.U.; Mr. Hlomulo Chitofu Gwambe, president of UDENAMO; Mr. George Ivan Smith, chief of the U.N. Technical Assistance Board; Mr. Nsilo Swai, Tanganyika's minister without portfolio and special representative at the United Nations; and Mr. Achkar Marof, acting chairman of the U.N. Committee on Portuguese Territories.



HURLEY

CAN ALGERIA BE AVERTED IN S.A.?

IN a statement supporting his decision to take part actively in the campaign against the Vorster Bill, and to serve on a committee of Black and White anti-Nationalists (as proposed by Chief Lutuli), Archbishop Denis Hurley, of Durban, declared:

"I have supported the call for opposition to the Bill because I look on it as giving additional impetus to the coming head-on collision between White intransigence and African nationalism.

"At present the internal security of the country is such that the Sabotage Bill does not seem necessary. But if a rapid change takes place on our borders with Angola, Rhodesia and Mocambique—and if South Africa continues in its present strain—it is difficult to see how a repetition of Algeria can be averted."

Welcome', say ers, 'But...'

sented the views of the Ngwenyama, Sobhuza II, on the constitution, and who had said that the demand for better pay and working conditions in the territory was the work of "political agitators".

"We welcome White people here," adds the Union, "and we want Swaziland to be a country which is really shared by all its people regardless of race."

But the Whites should not try to speak in the name of the Ngwenyama and set themselves up as "Roy Welenskys".

(See also report on page 8, col. 4)

S.B. Called to Rent Protest Meeting

From "Contact" Correspondent

EAST LONDON: When municipal police failed to break up a meeting called to discuss housing conditions in the Emergency housing scheme, they called the Security Police.

On 13th May, Mr. Ruben Dlem presided over a meeting called to discuss the unhygienic condition of houses in the Emergency scheme, and rent. He had spoken only a few words opening the meeting when the municipal police arrived and tried to disperse the crowd. When they failed, the S.B. were called. The meeting continued and speakers outlined the poor housing conditions in the location.

It was decided that a deputation should be sent to the authorities to discuss the situation.

Johannesburg to Move Established Families

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: The Johannesburg city council plans to run its own removal scheme: African residents who have lived for years in houses in "sub-economic" areas are to be moved to new homes because, it is said, their incomes are now "economic".

In a strong protest, the Orlando East and West Residents' Associations — representing the areas most affected, says: "South Africa seems to be in the grip of mass removal mania. Old residents in some of the African townships are being threatened with immediate removal.

"This is happening after many of them had spent enormous sums of money in improving their rickety structures.

"The main reason for the move is that these people are earning high wages. But nothing is said about less wages in the event of a change of employment."

The Association says that it rejects the city council's plan "because no one in the township has suddenly become wealthy overnight.

"Untold suffering and prolonged hardships and economic ruination would result from this thoughtless action."

The result of moving Africans who are fortunate enough to earn what are regarded as economic wages to so-called economic houses will be to impoverish them, adds the Association.

"This surely is heartless and is something which is not done to any other racial group in the country. People of other racial groups move voluntarily

to better houses because they think they can afford them.

"If they do not move nobody compels them to do so."

U.N. COMMITTEE FOR BASUTOLAND

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: The United Nations' seventeen-man committee on colonialism is to visit Southern Africa. Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle, leader of the Basutoland Congress Party, told *Contact* on his return from the U.N. on 27th May.

Looking confident and cheerful, Mr. Mokhehle said: "I am pleased that we were able to put our demands for independence before the committee and that it intends to come to Basutoland in the near future to see for itself."

The committee arrived in Ethiopia last week on its way to Southern Africa.

Nats. Fear Non-Apartheid Radio Broadcasts

By a Reporter

THE Nationalists' fear that people in South Africa will continue to evade the government's propaganda net in broadcasting and in the Nationalist controlled press (apart from the large Afrikaans daily papers, such journals as *Bona*, *Zonk*, *Imvo Zabantsundu*, the yet unpublished *Elethu*, *Brandwag*, *Banier*) has forced them to begin action against the radical press (through the Publications and Entertainments Bill and the "Sabotage" Bill), and to introduce F.M. radio broadcasting.

Broadcasts from Protectorates

The fear of non-apartheid broadcasts was well illustrated in *Dagbreek en Sondagnuus* (20th May). Dr. Verwoerd's Sunday newspaper. On its front page it carried a three-and-a-half inch deep headline which declared: REGERING

BEWUS VAN RADIO-GEVAAR (government aware of radio-danger). The story below it says that the government will not hesitate to negotiate with Britain if it becomes clear that radio stations are to be established in the protectorates. The story follows a British embassy announcement which reads:

"The possibility of establishing a broadcasting service which can be a means of providing information, education and entertainment is being considered in the three territories of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, Basutoland and Swaziland, whose administrations have sought technical advice from the B.B.C. and will in due course be prepared to decide the question of establishing broadcasting services and the part, if any, which commercial interests might play in such services. No decision has yet been made."

"Grave Political Implications"

Sondagnuus continues: "It is understood that the matter has been brought to the attention of the government. In political circles it is felt that the estab-

lishment of such radio stations can have graver political implications for South Africa than a possible threat to commerce.

"The reports about the prospect of radio stations in the protectorates bring to mind the political aspect. It is suggested that if the three protectorates get independent broadcasting services, their broadcasting policy will probably be different from that of South Africa, because 'multi-racialism' is practised in all three territories."

Sondagnuus suggests that the South African government would negotiate with Britain.

Watched, Jammed if Necessary

And if that failed to bring the protectorate stations into line. "The South African government will be able to jam the offending stations with signals stronger than theirs".

"*Sondagnuus*" concludes: "In political circles it is felt that under the guise of providing news and educational features, anything possible could be included. It is something which will have to be watched most carefully."

Buy a Radio NOW

BUY A SHORTWAVE radio set NOW so that you can listen to broadcasts from African countries and from overseas; so that you need not listen to the propaganda on "Radio South Africa" and "Radio Bantu".

IF YOU HAVE A SHORTWAVE radio with a range from 19 or 25 metres, you should be able to hear the following stations after nightfall. They all carry news in English at various times, as well as offering good musical entertainment and political commentary: British Broadcasting Corporation, Brazzaville (Congo), Leopoldville (Congo), Ghana, Cairo, India, Voice of America (U.S.A.), Federal Broadcasting Corporation (Rhodesia), Sweden, Switzerland, Germany, Moscow, Peking.

These stations can be heard in the 19, 25, 31 or 41 metre bands.

Transistor radios on which these stations can be received can be bought at any radio store at prices ranging from R35.00 to R60.00. These transistor sets work off ordinary torch batteries and are small and easy to carry about.

A NEW TASK FOR FREE AFRICA

THE AFRICAN Continent, as seen by Mr. Mamadou Dia, prime minister of Senegal, in the first of his books to be translated into English, can become a pilot continent, a zone where continent-wide co-operation works for the benefit of all its people. It can, as a mainly underdeveloped region, become an important partner in the world economy, by refusing to allow itself to be dominated by either of the great economic powers—the

United States of America and the Soviet Union. In order to achieve a position where real non-alignment is possible, African states should adopt a policy of mutual co-operation with the great economies, on a basis of freedom and equality.

Anti-Colonial Revolution

Mr. Dia examines the anti-colonial revolution, principally

in its economic aspects, and discusses in detail the problems of disengaging the economies of the newly independent states from those of their former colonial masters, while at the same time guarding against new domination from another economic power.

Thus while condemning the capitalist and colonialist exploitation of Africa, he is careful to point out how the powerful communist economy of the Soviet Union dominates those of the satellite "people's democracies" of Eastern Europe.

Co-ordination

The new African states must not allow themselves to be drawn into the pattern of either the capitalist or the communist world, and they can prevent that only by the establishment of so strong a solidarity between the new states, that it is made impossible for the continent to become a battleground in the cold war. Mr. Dia sees the gravest danger in the continued existence of states which are "so violently jealous of their sovereignty" that they refuse to co-ordinate their economies and policies with those of their regional neighbours.

Warnings against Western neo-colonialism are balanced by warnings against other forms of domination:

"What we should point out particularly to the apologists of Marxism-Leninism, who pose



An example of mutual co-operation—American food forms part of the wages of these men working on an irrigation canal, a scheme under Morocco's national development programme.

at the same time as champions of African nationalism, is that their ideological support of the liberation movement is in reality motivated by tactical and strategic considerations . . . in Marxism-Leninism there could be no absolute right to independence."

Co-operation

But these warnings do not preclude co-operation with West and East in the greatest task that faces Africa—the raising of the living standards of its people, and Mr. Dia believes that through this co-operation, a new form of world economic organization can emerge in which the present imbalance between the

highly developed continents of Europe (including Russia) and North America can help to eradicate poverty in the underdeveloped areas of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Mr. Dia discusses the former Mali Federation as an example of the kind of co-operation on a regional level that he anticipates, and discusses reasons for the break-up of that Federation. Other sections deal with de-colonization in Morocco and Tunisia, and the difficulties created by rivalries between Middle Eastern states.

"*The African Nations and World Solidarity* by Mamadou Dia, translated by Mercer Cook (Thames and Hudson). Price in South Africa R2.95.



DIA (left), and Senghor, president of Senegal.

—A.F.P. Photo.

READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS . . .

CAN FREEDOM BE WON PEACEFULLY?

SIR,—It grieves me, it pains my soul and it also touches my conscience to discover that we are the victims of racial discrimination.

To me it seems as if we cannot get freedom peacefully. The fact that history repeats itself is true because history in our country is what had been in France before the French Revolution. There is no liberty, no equality and no fraternity in our country because of the reign of this present government.

I think the Liberal Party should replace this government. I am sure if it can do that all things can go right.

The freedom in our country can be won by blood and iron as it was in France. Students will remember what Rousseau, the French philosopher, said: "Man is born free but everywhere he is in chains."

The chains which bring disaster to people are made by other people not by God. In every country that has got its independence people fought for it. How can we then in South Africa not fight for it? God helps those who help themselves.

Let us make the next generation benefit from our work because we are like seeds planted by God to give rise to fruits. There must be freedom, equality irrespective of race, colour and creed.

If a person regards another person as inferior to him because of his colour, he is just annoying God.

In some respects animals are better than us. It is said, "Man is the only creature capable of mass movements, dog does not eat dog, tiger does not eat tiger, even the loathsome hyena lives at peace with the members of its own species; but man hates man, man kills man and in the world of today the prime concern of every nation is preparing itself for the coming slaughter of its neighbours."

But we can avoid this by building a

non-racial organization like the Liberal Party. There should be no White or Black domination.

J. X.,
Kokstad.

Rights ground under heel

SIR,—The departure of Mr. Patrick Duncan for Basutoland in contravention of his ban under the Suppression of Communism Act restricting him to Cape Town, has thrown the spotlight on the extent to which the rights of free speech, movement, organization and assembly have been ground under heel in this country.

Although Mr. Duncan frequently made known his strong antipathy towards the Congress movement and our own organization in particular, we wish to record our protest against the ban imposed upon him just as we have in the past protested against the scores of bans imposed upon those with whom we are directly associated.

We look forward to the day when all banning orders are scrapped and when we and people like Mr. Duncan will be able to debate our differences freely before the people of this country.

CAPE TOWN BRANCH
COMMITTEE, CONGRESS
OF DEMOCRATS.

PRIZE LETTER

'A TOUCH OF IRONY'

SIR,—When Chief Kaizer Matanzima called upon his fellow tribal chiefs to see to it that communism is stamped out in the Transkei as it is a stumbling block to African nationalism, I think there was a touch of irony in his speech. Knowing as I do that there is not much African nationalism in the Transkei, but tribalism, what he really meant was something to this effect:

"African nationalism, which is a stumbling block to tribalism and hence to traditional leadership, must be nipped in the bud."

He said this during the session of the so-called "Territorial Authority", now about to be cloaked in the dress of a "Legislative Assembly".

H. MJALISWA,
Port Elizabeth.

Crying for freedom

SIR,—We want freedom in the land of our forefathers and we hate nobody but injustice. Let us unite and be strong.

Forward Bechuanalanders, forward to independence, forward to the establishment of a well developed nation.

We are the salt of this continent of Africa, especially we, the young fellows. We are fighting to meet together as brothers of independent Africa, not as strangers.

E. G. S. LETS,
Serowe, Bechuanaland.

TO ALL READERS OF 'CONTACT'

- This is your page, for your letters, for your opinions
- Write on any subject you like but
- Keep your letters short and
- Remember there is a prize—"Contact" free for a year—for the writer of the best letter

IS A SOCIALIST PARTY THE ANSWER?

SIR,—We, in South Africa, are beginning to realize the need for a new political party to come into power in our country. There are so many indistinct policies among the present parties that we are, as it were, balancing on a pin with sheer cliffs dropping down on either side below us. What we now need is a "helicopter" which will lift us from the pin and carry us to safer ground.

I will not attempt to eliminate the present parties in an effort to show the need for a new party.

Firstly, we have the Nationalists—the government—whose policy it is to put the Africans on a bit of land which they can then call their own, while the Whites sit back and run the country without the interference of any foreigners. The Nationalists are very lucky in that they can claim to have kept a steady policy during all their existence. The only fair complaint one can have against them is that they have not had a chance to read "The Ten Commandments", and, if they have, they have the wrong idea of the meaning.

Next we come to the United Party. We have not heard from them for a long time as they have been spending a lot of time at the doctors, with schizophrenia. At one time they were, almost,

a firm political party but, unfortunately, that is not the general view today. It has almost reached the point where, if one votes for the United Party, one cannot be sure that, by some chance, one has not cast a vote in the direction of the Nationalists.

Going on down the line we come to the very new National Union Party. In all honesty I do not think that anyone can say that this "new-hatch'd unfledg'd comrade" would be able to lead the country even if it had the support. This party is attempting to adopt a policy which, they claim, is between the Nationalist and United Party policies. If one thinks really hard about this one realizes that they are attempting the impossible. The United Party has beaten them to it with a much easier method—by having both U.P.-minded and Nat.-minded gentlemen in their party.

And now we come to one of the lesser parties—the Progressives. They do at least have a worthwhile policy which remains much the same most of the time. Unfortunately, they are inclined to make out to themselves that they are doing very well in the country until even they begin to think so.

Finally, we come to the Liberal Party. They have a very good policy,

but, unfortunately, would not be of any use unless they had just taken over from a party like the Progressives. They are a weak party which would need far more support if it was even to think of governing the country. It is still too small a party for us to be able to judge what its future holds in store for it.

This now leaves us completely bewildered as to what to do. We have two choices left. The first is to leave the country (which would be difficult for some of us), and the second is to form a new party. There are two types of party left—Communist and Socialist. A Communist Party would never be accepted and so that eliminates that party. A Socialist Party would, probably, after some time be accepted.

Unfortunately there is one thing still hindering us, and that is that the government will not permit a Socialist Party in South Africa and so we are still left balancing on the pin waiting for the next helicopter to come, in the hope that it might be serviceable.

Unfortunately, the pin is about to break, and, if the helicopter does not come soon, we will all find ourselves in a most unpleasant situation.

D. ALBINO,
Grahamstown.

No partition in South West Africa!

SIR,—It has been predicted that the only solution regarding the question of South West Africa is that of partition. The South African government is trying to create a very serious situation by formulating such a policy. It should be quite clear that the people of South West Africa and the South West Africa Peoples Organization will never accept such a move. South West Africa will never be divided into two parts for it is one country, created by God as one country, and given to the indigenous population as one. If Verwoerd is suffering from a mental sickness then he must not try to cure it by formulating irresponsible, ignorant and nonsensical policies for South West Africa.

It is quite evident that Verwoerd is intending to make a desperate attempt to secure and incorporate South West Africa into South Africa by means of the so-called policy of partition. Partition is as unacceptable to the people of South West Africa as Bantustan.

We denounce and reject partition for we have the right to decide our future.

We denounce and reject Bantustan for it is designed to suppress the African people not only in South West Africa but also in South Africa.

Down with partition and Bantustan! Long live African Freedom and Independence.

MOSES MAKUE GAROEB,
Lincoln University,
Pennsylvania, U.S.A.



They will be disowned

SIR,—Let those who are smiling at Mr. Patrick Duncan's recent flight to Basutoland be warned that although one of their most relentless opponents has been forced to withdraw from his usual haunts their communist ideas are well known to the many who can and will continue to fight them.

Their cancerous disease has spread into the minds of many who pride themselves as being the leaders of our people, and also the ignorant who know no better, but we shall get rid of them and reveal the clinging sickness of their so-called ideology.

We know who they are and where they are and any front that they adopt in their efforts to sow the Kremlin's filth under the guise of various organizations, political or otherwise, will be carefully sifted and swift justice accorded when freedom is ours.

To those who prefer the light-hearted compliments of their Russian caretakers to the respect and well-being of their own people I say, you shall perish in the slime of your own weakness.

DUNCAN MAHLANGU,
Springs.

PEN-FRIENDS WANTED

SIR,—I have a girl pen-pal in Witten-Annen in West Germany and she has written to say that her two school-mates would also like to have South African boy pen-friends.

Will you please make it known through the medium of your paper so that those interested may get in touch with me at the address mentioned below and I shall put them through.

Anyone writing must enclose a self-addressed, stamped envelope for a reply.

And anybody can write regardless of nationality, race, colour or creed.
ABEL J. NKUNA,
P.O. Box 261, Tzaneen, Tvl.

All freedom passes in South Africa and . . .

TWILIGHT DARKENS TO NIGHT

WHILE the Vorster General Law Amendment Bill is forced through a barely resisting parliament and the political twilight in South Africa darkens to night, the shades of two singularly unpleasant men must be watching with approval as a new protege carries on their work.

There are, indeed, significant differences in the characters of and in the movements represented by the Nazi leader Adolf Hitler, United States communist-baiting Senator Joseph McCarthy, and White racist Balthazar Johannes Vorster. We do not believe that this ramshackle dictatorship in South Africa nearly matches the ruthless efficiency of the Nazi regime: nor do we think that the crude interpretation and use of the communist bogey by the Nationalist Party or its newspapers comes up to the highly-organized show put on in the United States from 1950 to 1954 by McCarthy. Also, the decline of Hitler and of McCarthy may not resemble the inevitable decline of Vorster and White racialism in South Africa. Hitler and the Nazis went out in a war they started: McCarthy was broken when a great democracy woke up and reacted against him. But the evil represented by both men lives on in South Africa; in the past few weeks we have seen it in the persons of the minister of justice, his cabinet colleagues and in the many smaller men around them.

Drive for Power

We see Hitler and the Nazis, not only in the racist doctrines of the Nationalist Party, but also in the drive for power over all opponents shown by legislation that has culminated in the Vorster Bill. Outside of parliament we see the Nazi movement again in the actions of lawless thugs against Black Sash women who have dared to demonstrate peacefully against what is being done to their country.

It was thugs such as these who, in 1933, surrounded the building where the Reichstag met, and howled for the blood of the opposition as Hitler put through his Enabling Act thus killing democracy in Germany. Describing the events of those times, William Shirer, in his book *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, writes that Hitler made "an unexpectedly restrained speech" to a house whose aisles were lined with brown-shirted storm troopers, whose scarred bully faces indicated that no nonsense would be tolerated from the representatives of the people".

Hitler's Assurances

Parliament in South Africa has not been subjected to this form of pressure, but there is an ominous similarity in the assurances given by Hitler and those being offered by Vorster.

"The Government," Hitler promised, "will make use of these powers only



Malan, Strydom, Verwoerd, Vorster — with Hitler looking on.

insofar as they are essential for carrying out vitally necessary measures." No orderly and peaceful people, says the South African minister of justice, will even know about the existence of this Bill because they would never come into conflict with it.

Within days of the passing of the Enabling Act, the German people learnt the value of Hitler's assurances. In the years that followed Germany was enslaved by a gang of power-mad fanatics, all opposition was silenced and the country was plunged into a war which all but ruined it.

Communist Bogey

But if we see similarities to Nazi Germany in the present situation in South Africa, we must also realize that former admirers of Hitler have learnt from some of his mistakes. Open nazism is bad publicity and so the communist bogey used by the Nazis but developed to near perfection by McCarthy in America has also been brought in. From an obscure junior senator, this career politician became a national figure in a remarkably short time by launching a crusade against "internal subversion". Some of the most eminent men in the United States, alleged McCarthy, were the dupes of communism. Backed by a wave of hysteria which swept the country, he was able to carry out widely-publicized investigations of the civil service, and soon "communists" were being seen under almost every bush and behind many official desks. McCarthy was broken by his own senate colleagues in 1954 and he died three years later. His example, however, seems to thrive in South Africa where the introduction of the Vorster Bill has been accompanied by a tirade in parliament and outside in which every radical opponent of White racialism has been lumped under one label marked "communist". Thus minister of justice Vorster regards the widespread protests against his Bill as merely defending communists and their activities.

Nationalist M.P. Blaar Coetzee is quoted in the *Cape Times* as saying that he did not care whether men like Lutuli or certain members of the Liberal Party were communists or not. As long as they stood for the principle of one man, one vote, they were communists as surely as if they were being paid by Russia.

Ban on Patrick Duncan

Defending the banning of the Editor of *Contact*, another Nationalist M.P., G. F. van C. Froneman, is quoted in

the *Cape Argus* as saying that Mr. Duncan did not call himself a communist: "But have you ever found a communist who said he was one?"

Nationalist newspapers have also been contributing to this nonsense. In a leading article last week "Die Burger" got to the whole point of the Vorster Bill. It gave a carefully prepared reply to criticisms of the banning of Mr. Duncan and "found" that his "violent anti-communism" lies "largely in attempts to outbid communism, especially among the Bantu, with radicalism, that is, by suggesting that the good things which communism may be able to do for the Bantu can be done even better by Mr. Duncan's form of liberalism".

To "Die Burger's" mind the implications of his and "Contact's" message for South Africa are not much less radical and revolutionary than communism.

As this article is clearly an attempt to justify the banning of Mr. Duncan and is intended as a reply to some of the attacks on the Vorster Bill, we can see from it where the Bill is leading. Mr. Duncan has been, and *Contact* and the Liberal Party (or at least many of its leading members) are likely to be suppressed, not for being communists or even sympathizers, which they are so obviously not, but for struggling to bring non-racial democracy to South Africa.

Threat of Suppression

Contact lives from the time the Bill is passed under the threat of sudden, arbitrary suppression. Each issue may be the last published in our country. Our "crime" if we are banned will be that of loving freedom more than we fear those who despise and destroy it; for calling loudly and constantly for non-racial democracy in South Africa; and for exposing the hypocrisy of all those whose policy of White baasskap has brought misery to most of the people of our country. It is a "crime" to which we proudly confess and which we shall commit as long as we are able.

And if and when a Vorster ban is served on us, we humbly believe that the night may be a little darker for our going. We shall then move into the distinguished company of those who have suffered under the Hitlers, the McCarthys and the Vorsters, but have come back with the dawn and the bright new day.

S.A. REMAINS OUT OF WORLD SOCCER

THE International Federation of Football Associations (F.I.F.A.) has refused to lift the existing suspension against South Africa.

An official F.I.F.A. announcement said South Africa would remain out of the federation until the country had eliminated racial discrimination in soccer.

South Africa lost its F.I.F.A. membership because of a conflict as to which of its associations should be recognized — the non-racial or the White. F.I.F.A. wanted both to form one body.

F.I.F.A. authorities decided that the ban on South Africa should stay until an official on-the-spot investigation showed there was no more racial discrimination in its sports. — "Cape Argus", 25th May, sports.

Sobhuza Does Not Support Proposed Constitution

From "Contact" Correspondent

MBABANE: The Paramount Chief of Swaziland, Ngwenyama Sobhuza II, has denied that he supports the principle of 50-50 White-Black representation in the Legislative Council as proposed in the report of the Swaziland Constitutional Committee. He was addressing a meeting of teachers at his home, Masundwini, on 20th May.

The teachers, who oppose these constitutional proposals, had asked to see the Paramount Chief so that he could give them the truth on what they had been reading about his statements in the press. The meeting lasted five hours.

Denying that he supported the constitutional proposals, Sobhuza said: "I would be a dictator to say to you I want 50-50 representation. I did not mean equal representation by counting figures. I meant that Whites and Swazis must meet in the Legislative Council and work together as one on an equal basis."

* The report of the Swaziland Constitutional Committee calls for a Legislative Council consisting half of Whites elected by universal franchise by Whites and Coloureds only, and half of Swazis chosen tribally.

VORSTER BILL

(Continued from page 4)

Party, Congress Movement, African General Workers' Union, and the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS).

The churches have come out against the Bill. In Natal leaders of the following churches joined in protest: Roman Catholic, Anglican, Congregational, Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian.

In Cape Town, Roman Catholic Archbishop MacCann, Anglican Bishop Cowdrey and Muslim Imam Haroun have taken part in protest meetings. The Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, Rev. Patrick Barron, has declared against the Bill.



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